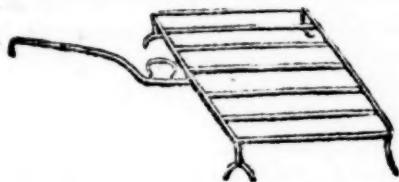


# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"That the New World may finally regenerate the Old is the hope and the prayer of your obedient servant, Thomas Paine."—PAINE'S *Dedication* (to Washington) of his *Rights of Man*.

## LETTER II.

### TO THE KING OF ENGLAND.

*On the Events in France, and on their natural Consequences with regard to this Country.*

Barn-Elm Farm, 4th August, 1830.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

NEVER, since the world began, was man placed in a more important situation than that in which you now stand; never did so much of good or of evil, of happiness or of misery, of glory or of abasement, before depend on the will of any one human being. That from your Majesty may come the good, the happiness and the glory, is my anxious wish; and in the hope of giving effect to that wish, I now, with the highest respect, submit to the serious consideration of your Majesty, my views on the events now taking place in France, and on their natural consequences with regard to this *once* great and famous commonwealth, of which you are the lawful, and will I sincerely hope be, to the last hour of a long life, the happy and beloved King.

In order to explain clearly my opinions as to the events in France, it is necessary, that I state what those events have been; and, in order to show how they are likely to affect us, I must advert to transactions in this country, closely connected, *in principle*, with these events in France. With regard to the events in France, they have *no new* character; they have arisen from *no new*

cause: they are merely a continuation of that series of events, which began to take place in 1789, when the people of France bravely resolved no longer to endure those burdens which a profligate, and greedy, and insolent, and cruel court, and aristocracy, had laid upon them; and for enduring which, for so many many ages, Englishmen had been reproaching them with the basest cowardice. Napoleon's assuming the imperial office, and the *consequent* restoration of the Bourbons, made merely a *chasm* in the series. It was, from the first, a people bravely resolved to be free, and acting on the clear and indisputable principle, that there can be *no freedom*, unless those *who impose the taxes be chosen by the people themselves*. From 1815, until now, this great and gallant people have been kept down by circumstances too great for them to control; but, by time, and by their courage and wisdom, these circumstances have, by degrees, been removed, and back they come to the rock from which they had been forced by a million of foreigners in arms.

It is useful for us now to call to mind the principal points in this series of events; because just views, with regard to them, will the better enable us to judge correctly as to the future. It is, then, well known, that, before the revolution, in the reign of Louis XVI., the people of France were loaded with taxes, and otherwise oppressed and insulted by their rulers; that a great part of the burdens, imposed upon them, did not arise from the acts of that king, but from the *wasteful wars carried on*, the *prodigality of the courts*, and the *debts contracted by his two immediate predecessors*; that the nation, insulted by *game-laws*, by *corvées*, and by the endless offspring of *aristocratical insolence*, rose, and in spite of an enormous standing army, kept up in time of peace, shook off the intolerable load; that, having suffered so severely and so long from the injustice of the aristocracy, they abolished their order, and the aristocracy having fled and joined their foes,

they seized and sold their estates; that a great part of the clergy having acted in the same manner, they dealt out to them the same measure of punishment; that the king, being suspected of favouring their enemies (having once endeavoured to escape to join the rest of his family, who were then in the rear of a foreign army invading France), the nation, in the hour of its rage, put the king to death, a thing which it would not have done under circumstances less irritating; that, now, the nation proclaimed itself A REPUBLIC; that, under this name, and that of AN EMPIRE (the last introduced to gratify the ambition of the greatest military commander that ever lived) they carried on a war of twenty-two years against all the nations of Europe, all their arms and all their money; that, at the end of this time a combination of circumstances caused the overthrow of their chief, Napoleon, and, under the power of a combination too great for them to withstand, they, in 1814, re-admitted the Bourbons, on terms hereafter to be mentioned; that, the next year, (1815.) Napoleon returned, was received with acclamations of joy, and *the Bourbons fled out of the country*; that then a combination of powers brought *one million and eleven thousand men* to attack and invade this one nation; that Napoleon was again sent into exile, where he DIED, in whose *keeping and under what circumstances* it would be useless to state; that, now, the Bourbons were brought back again, and enthroned over the people while *foreign armies* occupied Paris, and all the strong holds of the country, and that they have reigned from the year 1815 to that of 1830.

So much for previous events generally; but now for the part which WE (the Government of England) have acted from the beginning to this time, and for the part which the Bourbons have acted since their restoration. With regard to US, it is well known, that *we refused to acknowledge the Republic of France* in the year 1793, when France was first declared a Republic; that they sent our agents and envoys, charged with powers to treat with us, and for preventing war with us, and that we actually *drove them*

*away with every mark of disdain*, notwithstanding their reiterated and earnest endeavours to settle matters so that France might remain at peace and amity with us; that, for the *twenty-two years*, during which the French were contending for their freedom, there was no combination at the head of which we were not to be found; that at the end of eight years, we made a peace and *acknowledged the Republic*, but that we were, in a few months, at war again, on the ground openly avowed, that we could not live in peace with *such a government*; that we began the war again, again subsidized the fighting powers; that thus we proceeded, 'till, in 1815, we and our allies and auxiliaries had 1,011,000 men in the field, and with those means *forced, for a second time, the Bourbons back upon France*; that now, we, *having an army at Paris* (under the command of *our present prime minister*) were parties to a treaty *made with the Bourbons*, by which the *frontier towns were taken from France*, by which all her most valuable *colonies were ceded to us*, by which a *tribute was imposed upon her*, and by which she was compelled to pay the *debt* which the old Bourbon government *owed to the English*, while that part which was due to Frenchmen went unpaid; that, while our army was at Paris, and *with the approbation of its commander* (who is *our present prime minister*), the Museums of Paris were stripped of those things which the French had taken *in war from enemies*, though our army entered France *as friends*, and as an *ally* of the King of France; that after this, in order to see the Bourbons *firmly seated*, our army remained in France about *three years*, and of course, at the expense of the French *people*.

With regard to the conduct of the Bourbons after their Restoration, it is well known, that they agreed to the divers treaties and conventions and internal measures by which the frontier-towns were taken from France, by which she lost her colonies, by which her museums were stripped, by which the names of the BRIDGE of JENA, the COLUMN of AUSTERLITZ, &c., were changed, and by which the valiant deeds of the nation were sought to be

buried in oblivion; that the Bourbons agreed to lay upon France that *heavy tribute*, and to the payment of *debts* which the *old Bourbon government* owed to *English fundholders*, which now constitute a considerable part of the DEBT of France; that the Bourbons have caused another great addition to the DEBT of France by the sums given to the old Emigrant noblesse, whose estates had been confiscated by the laws of the Republic; that they have caused another great addition to the taxes by making an *established clergy*, paid out of the taxes, instead of leaving that matter as it is left by the government of America; that the Bourbons have gradually proceeded in changing the laws in such manner as to lessen the liberties of the people; that they have made changes in the important *law of election*, so as to *narrow the suffrage*, and to give additional influence to the aristocracy; that they have, *in imitation of our Parliament*, compelled printers and publishers to *give security beforehand*, and it is curious that an English act, making an *addition to the severity of this law*, was receiving *your assent*, in the House of Lords, on the very day that the King of France was putting forth his edict for putting down the press of that noble-spirited nation.

This is a short view of the conduct of the Bourbons towards the people of France. But, before I come to the *last act*, which has produced their overthrow, I will remark on some transactions which were the prelude to that act. It has been manifest to all men of only common observation, that the Bourbons have, ever since the Restoration, been subservient, in a most shameless manner, to the government of this country; that the interest of France imperiously dictated the *taking of a grand part in the affair of Greece and Turkey*; that France ought, then, to have got the power of the Levant into her hands, and to have taken steps for keeping the mastership in the Mediterranean sea; and that, long and long ago, the Bourbons, if they had done their duty towards France, might have had back the colonies of France without a drop of blood being shed; that, on the contrary, they appear to have constantly been endeavoring

to avoid every thing that might be offensive or humiliating or inconvenient to our government. In short, as Louis XVIII. had openly declared, that he *owed his crown to the king of England*, so that family seem to have acted as if they thought that the *keeping of the crown depended on him and his government much more than on the people of France*: every act of their fifteen years of power seemed plainly to say to the whole world, "This people hate us, and we hate them; we reign in spite of them; the English government placed us over them; that government will uphold us in our power; and, worst come to worst, it will receive us back and protect us."

This has all been well understood by the clever men in France; through them, and an *uncorrupted* press, the whole nation has got at the knowledge; the *workings of our Aristocracy*, our mode of *electing members*, the *weight of our taxes*, and all the means by which we have been brought down to our present state of degradation; all these, thanks to an honest press, are now well known to the people of France. They have long seen, that it was the aim of the Bourbons to bring the French nation down to our wretched state, to take from the people by degrees *all real representation*; to cause the DEPUTIES to be sent without any more consent of the people than the members for GATTON and OLD SARUM are sent with; in short, the people of France saw, that it was the design of the Bourbons to give them all the blessings arising from an *English House of Commons*, and that perverse people were resolved to perish rather than be loaded with those blessings. They had no taste, it seems, for a parliament that would, of course, have passed laws to make them pay *four pence farthing tax on a sixpenny newspaper*; to make them be *transported for seven years if out in the night in pursuit of partridge, pheasant, or hare*; to *take from them trial by jury in many cases*, civil as well as criminal, and to fine them, or punish their bodies, without such trial; to cause them, in some cases, to be *transported for seven years*, for being out of their houses for fifteen minutes, between sunset and sunrise,

and to do this *without trial by jury*; for a parliament that would, of course, have done these, and a thousand other such things, the French had no taste; and, though we may laugh at their want of taste, we really have no right to be angry with them on that account. They were resolved not to have an Old-Sarum and a Gatton parliament; the Bourbons were resolved that they should have such a parliament; and thus, at last, the parties came to blows.

The Bourbons, in order to give effect to their brilliant conceptions, made that change in the ministry which put POLIGNAC at the head of it, and which filled the other posts with men hated and suspected by the whole nation. POLIGNAC was an Emigrant noble, he had been made a *Prince* by the Bourbons, he was *here* during the war, has married an English woman, has recently been *ambassador here for many years*, and he *went from this country to be prime minister in France!* The flame, which had been smothered for some time, now bursted out. The journalists in France attacked him and his colleagues with great force; they at once anticipated some measure hostile to their liberties; they remarked on the suspicious circumstance of his having *come from England* to be prime minister in France; and they asserted, that he had been *chosen and appointed by our government*. This last was the sharpest arrow in their quiver. The indignation of the whole country was roused against the new ministry; and, in this state of things the two chambers were called together last spring.

To the King's speech the Peers returned an answer *à l'Angloise*; that is to say, *echoing* the speech. Not so in the *Commons' House*, or Chamber of DEPUTIES, who are chosen, not as at Gatton, or Old Sarum, or Westminster, or any-where else in England, or Scotland, or Ireland, but, as in the United States of America, *by ballot*. The Deputies, therefore, in answer to the king, (who had talked, in the English style, about his resolution to put down evil-minded persons), as good as told him, that he should *have no money, as long as he kept in power Polignac and his colleagues*. The king, in answer to this,

*dissolved* the chambers, and ordered new Deputies to be elected; and, finding that *all* the old Deputies had been returned at this new election, and that many others of the same stamp had been added to them, he, *long before the time for their assembling*, DISSOLVED THEM AGAIN. Upon this occasion, he issued three ORDINANCES, the first, *putting an end to all freedom of the press*; the second, *dissolving the new Chamber of Deputies*; the third, *so altering the law of election* as to make elections in France of no more use to the people there than our elections are to the people here.

These are acts which have, apparently, decided *his fate*, but which will not stop with that comparatively insignificant consequence. They will, in the course of a short time, produce great and lasting effects on the condition of other nations as well as on that of France; and, therefore, your Majesty ought, and, doubtless, will, duly consider the *grounds* put forth, as the *justification* of these acts. These grounds are stated in a paper, called "A REPORT" from the ministers to the king. REPORTS of this sort are not, by any means, *new to us*; but, to the honour of the French ministers, they do not accompany *their reports* with "GREEN BAGS," to be opened by *Secret Committees*, keeping hidden the names of the parties from whom they have received, or pretend to have received, their information. How far the ordinances of Charles fall short, in point of severity, the measures founded on the *Greenbag Reports* in England, your Majesty will by-and-by be able to judge; but, in the assertions of the *Polignac* and *Peyronnet* Report, and in those of *Sidmouth* and *Castlereagh*, you will find a wonderfully strong resemblance. When I have inserted the French report, I will show the *Prince Polignac*, that, though a Prince, he is but a *plagiarist*, and that, however innocent he may be in other respects, he is certainly guilty of having *robbed* our two famous ministers, SIDMOUTH and CASTLEREAGH, whose ability and originality in report-making must make this French report a dull piece of stuff to English ears; and, in short, it is little more than a collec-

tion of scraps from the green-bag reports of our two incomparable ministers.

#### REPORT TO THE KING.

SIRE,—Your Ministers would be little worthy of the confidence with which your Majesty honours them, if they longer delayed to place before your eyes a view of our internal situation, and to point out to your high wisdom the dangers of the periodical press.

At no time for these fifteen years has this situation presented itself under a more serious and more afflicting aspect. Notwithstanding an actual prosperity of which our annals afford no example, signs of disorganization and symptoms of anarchy manifest themselves at almost every point of the kingdom. The successive causes which have concurred to weaken the springs of the Monarchical Government tend now to impair and to change the nature of it. Stripped of its moral force, authority, lost in the capital and the provinces, no longer contends but at a disadvantage with the factious; *pernicious and subversive doctrines*, loudly professed, are spread and propagated among *all classes of the population*; alarms, too generally credited, agitate people's minds and trouble society. On all sides the present is called upon for pledges of security for the future.

An active, ardent, indefatigable malevolence labours to ruin all the foundations of order, and to snatch from France the happiness it enjoys under the sceptre of its Kings. *Skilful* in turning to advantage *all discontents*, and to excite all hatreds, it foment among the people a spirit of distrust and hostility towards power, and endeavours to sow everywhere the seeds of trouble and civil war; and already, Sire, recent events have proved that political passions, hitherto confined to the *summits of society*, begin to *penetrate the depths* of it, and to stir up the popular classes. It is proved, also, that these masses would never move without danger, *even to those who endeavour to rouse them from repose*. A multitude of facts collected in the course of the electoral operations confirm these data, and would offer us the too-certain presage of new commotions, if it were not in the power of your Majesty to avert the misfortune.

Everywhere, also, if we observe with attention, there exists a necessity of order, of strength, and of duration; and the agitations which appear to be the most contrary to it are, in reality, only the expression and the testimony of it.

It must be acknowledged that these agitations, which cannot be increased without great dangers, are almost exclusively produced and *excited by the liberty of the press*. A law on the elections, no less fruitful of disorders, has doubtless concurred in maintaining them; but it would be denying what is evident, to refuse seeing in the *Journals* the principal focus of a corruption, the progress of which is every day more sensible, and the *first source of the calamities* which threaten the kingdom.

Experience, Sire, speaks more loudly than theories. Men who are doubtless enlightened,

and whose good faith is not suspected, led away by the *ill-understood example of a neighbouring people*, may have believed that the advantages of the *periodical press* would balance its inconveniences, and that its excesses would be neutralized by contrary excesses. It is not so; the proof is decisive; and the question is now judged in the public mind.

At all times, in fact, the periodical press has been, and it is in its nature to be, *only an instrument of disorder and sedition*.

What numerous and irrefragable proofs may be brought in support of this truth! It is by the violent and incessant action of the press that the too-sudden and too-frequent variations of our internal policy are to be explained. It has not permitted a regular and stable system of government to be established in France, nor any constant attention to be devoted to introduce into all the branches of the Administration the amelioration of which they are susceptible. *All the Ministries* since the year 1814, though formed under divers influences, and subject to opposite directions, have been exposed to the same attacks and to the same license of the passions. Sacrifices of every kind, concessions of power, alliances of party; nothing has been able to save them from this common destiny.

This comparison alone, so fertile in reflections, would suffice to assign to the press its true, its invariable character. It endeavours by constant, persevering, and daily-repeated efforts, to *relax all the bonds of obedience* and subordination, to weaken all the springs of public authority, to *degrade and debase it* in the *opinion of the people*, to create against it every where, *embarrassment and resistance*.

Its art consists, not in substituting, for a too easy submission of mind, a prudent liberty of examination, but to reduce to a problem the most positive truths; not to excite upon political questions *frank and useful controversy*, but to place them in a *false light*, and to *solve them by sophisms*.

The press has thus excited *confusion* in the *most upright minds*, has shaken the most firm convictions, and produced in the midst of society a confusion of principles, which lends itself to the most fatal attempts. It is by anarchy in doctrines that it paves the way for anarchy in the State. It is worthy of remark, Sire, that the periodical press has not even fulfilled its most essential condition, that of publicity. What is strange, but what may be said with truth, is, that there is *no publicity in France*, taking this word in its just and strict sense. In this state of things, facts, when they are not entirely fictitious, do not come to the knowledge of several millions of readers, except mutilated and disfigured in the most odious manner. A thick cloud, raised by the journals, conceals the truth, and in some measure intercepts the light between the Government and the people. The kings, your predecessors, Sire, always loved to communicate with their subjects. This is a satisfaction which the press has not thought fit that your Majesty should enjoy.

A *licentiousness*, which has passed all bounds, has, in fact, not respected, even the most so-

lemn occasions, either the express will of the King, or the words pronounced from the Throne. Some have been misunderstood and misinterpreted, the others have been the subject of perfidious commentaries or of bitter derision. It is thus that the last act of the royal power, the Proclamation, was discredited by the public men before it was known by the electors.

This is not all: the press tends to no less than to subjugate the sovereignty and to invade the powers of the State. The pretended organ of public opinion, it *aspires to direct the debates of the two Chambers*; it is incontestible that it brings into them the *weight of an influence no less fatal than decisive*. This domination has assumed, especially within these two or three years, in the Chamber of the Deputies, a manifest character of oppression and tyranny. We have seen in this interval of time the Journals pursue with their insults, and their outrages, the members whose votes appear to them uncertain or suspected. Too often, Sire, *the freedom of debate in that Chamber* has sunk under the reiterated blows of the Press.

The conduct of the *Opposition Journals*, in the most recent circumstances, cannot be characterised in terms less severe. After having themselves called forth an Address derogatory to the prerogative of the throne, they have not feared to re-establish as a principle, *the election of the 221 Deputies whose work it is*; and yet your Majesty repulsed this address as offensive; you had publicly blamed the refusal of concurrence which was expressed in it; you had announced your immutable resolution to defend the rights of your crown, which were so openly compromised. The periodical journals have paid no regard to this; on the contrary, they have taken it upon them to renew, to perpetuate, and to aggravate the offence. Your Majesty will decide whether this presumptuous attack shall remain longer unpunished.

But of all the excesses of the press the most serious, perhaps, remains to be pointed out. From the very beginning of that expedition, the glory of which throws so pure and so durable a splendour on the noble crown of France, the press has criticised with unheard-of violence the causes, the means, the preparations, the chances of success. Insensible to the national honour, it was not its fault if our flag did not remain degraded by the insults of a barbarian. Indifferent to the great interests of humanity, it has not been its fault if Europe has not remained *subject to a cruel slavery and a shameful tribute*.

This was not enough. By a treachery which our laws might have reached, the press has eagerly published all the secrets of the armament, brought to the knowledge of foreigners the state of our forces, the number of our troops, and that of our ships; they pointed out the stations, the means to be employed to surmount the variableness of the winds, and to approach the coast. Every thing, even the place of landing, *was divulged*, as if to give the enemy more certain means of defence; and, a thing unheard-of among civi-

lised people, the press has not hesitated, by false alarms on the dangers to be incurred, to *cause discouragement in the army*, and point out to its *hated the Commander of the enterprise*. It has, as it were, excited the soldiers to raise against him the standard of revolt, or to desert their colours. This is what the organs of a party which pretends to be national have dared to do.

What it dares to do every day in the interior kingdom, tends to no less than to disperse the elements of public peace, to *dissolve the bonds of society*, and evidently to make the ground tremble under our feet. Let us not fear to disclose here the whole extent of our evils, in order the better to appreciate the whole extent of our resources. A system of defamation, *organised on a great scale, and directed with unequalled perseverance*, reaches, either near at hand or at a distance, the *most humble of the agents of the Government*. None of your subjects, Sire, is secure from an insult, if he receives from his Sovereign the least mark of confidence or satisfaction. A vast net thrown over France envelopes all the public functionaries; placed in a constant state of accusation, they seem to be in a manner lost from civil society, only those are spared whose fidelity wavers, only those are praised whose fidelity gives way; the others are marked by the faction to be in the sequel, without doubt, sacrificed to popular vengeance.

The periodical press has not displayed less ardour in pursuing with its poisoned darts *religion and its priests*. Its object is, and always will be, to root out of the heart of the people even the last germ of *religious sentiment*. Sire, do not doubt that it will succeed in this, by attacking the *foundation of the press*, by *poisoning the sources of public morals*, and by covering the Ministers of the Altars with derision and contempt.

No strength, it must be confessed, is able to resist a dissolving power so active as the press. At all times, when it has been freed from its fetters, it has made an irruption and invasion in the State. One cannot but be singularly struck with the similitude of its effects during these last fifteen years, notwithstanding the change of circumstances, and notwithstanding the changes of the men who have figured on the political stage. Its destiny, in a word, *is to recommence the Revolution*, the principles of which it so loudly proclaims. Placed and re-placed, at various intervals, under the yoke of the Censorship, it has always resumed its liberty only to recommence its interrupted work. In order to continue it with the more success, it has been found an active auxiliary in the departmental press, which, engaging in combat local jealousies and hatreds, striking terror into the minds of timid men, and harassing authority by endless intrigues, *has exercised a decisive influence on the elections*.

These last effects, Sire, are transitory; but effects more durable are observed in the manners and in the character of the nation; an ardent, lying, and passionate spirit of contention. The school of scandal and licentious-

ness has produced in it important changes and profound alterations; it gives a *false direction to people's minds*; it fills them with prejudices, *diverts them from serious studies*, retards them in the progress of the sciences and the arts, excites among us a fermentation which is constantly increasing, maintains even in the bosoms of our families fatal dissensions; and might, by degrees, throw us back into barbarism.

Against so many evils, engendered by the periodical press, *both law and justice are equally obliged to confess their want of power*. It would be superfluous to inquire into the causes which have weakened the power of repression, and have insensibly made it an ineffectual weapon in the hands of the authorities. It is sufficient to appeal to experience and to show the present state of things. *Judicial forms* do not easily lend themselves to an *effectual repression*. This truth has long since struck reflecting minds. It has lately become still more evident. To satisfy the wants which caused its institution, the repression ought to be *prompt and strong*. It has been *slow, weak*, and almost null. When it interferes, the mischief is already done, and the punishment, far from repairing it, only adds to the scandal of the discussion.

The *judicial prosecutor* is wearied out; but the seditious press is never weary. The one stops because there is too much to prosecute; the other multiplies its strength by multiplying its transgressions.

In these divers circumstances, the prosecutions have had their appearances of activity or of relaxation. But what does the press care for zeal or lukewarmness in the *public prosecutor*? It seeks, in multiplying its excesses, for the certainty of their impunity.

The insufficiency, or even the *inutility* of the institutions established in the laws now in force is demonstrated by facts. It is equally proved by facts that the public safety is *endangered by the licentiousness of the press*. It is time, it is more than time, to arrest its ravages.

Give ear, Sire, to the prolonged cry of indignation and of terror which rises from all parts of your kingdom. All *peaceable men*, the *upright*, the *friends of order*, stretch to your Majesty their *suppliant hands*. All implore you to preserve them from the return of the calamities by which their fathers or themselves have been so severely affected. These alarms are too real not to be listened to; *these wishes are too legitimate not to be regarded*.

There is but one means to satisfy them; it is, *to return to the Charter*.

If the terms of the 8th Article are ambiguous, its *spirit* is manifest. It is certain that the Charter has not given the liberty of the journals and of periodical writings. The right of publishing *our personal opinions* certainly does not imply the right of publishing the *opinions of others*. The one is the use of a faculty which the law might leave free, or subject to restriction; the other is a *commercial speculation*, which, like others, and more than others, *supposes the superseding of public authority*.

The intentions of the Charter on this sub-

ject are accurately explained in the law of October 21, 1814, which is in some measure the appendix to it. This is the less doubtful, as this law was presented to the Chambers on the 5th of July; that is to say, one month after the promulgation of the Charter.

In 1819, at the time when a contrary system prevailed in the Chambers, it was openly proclaimed there that the periodical press was not governed by the enactment of the 8th Article. This truth is, besides, attested by the very laws which have imposed upon the journals the *condition of giving securities*.

Now, Sire, nothing remains but to inquire how this return to the Charter, and to the law of the 21st October 1814, is to be effected. The gravity of the present juncture has solved this question.

We must not deceive ourselves; we are no longer in the ordinary condition of a Representative Government. The principle on which it has been established could not remain entire amidst the political vicissitudes. A turbulent democracy, which has penetrated even into our laws, tends to put itself in the place of the legitimate power. It disposes of the majority of the elections by means of the Journals, and the assistance of numerous affiliations. It has paralysed, as far as depended on it, the regular exercise of the most essential prerogative of the Crown; that of dissolving the Elective Chamber. By this very thing the Constitution of the State is shaken. Your Majesty alone retains the power to replace and consolidate it upon its foundation.

The right, as well as the duty, of assuring its maintenance, is the inseparable attribute of the Sovereignty. No government on earth would remain standing, if it had not the right to provide for its own security. *This power existed before the laws*, because it is in the nature of things. These, Sire, are maxims which have in their favour the sanction of time, and the assent of all the publicists of Europe.

But these maxims have another sanction, still more positive, that of the Charter itself. The 14th article has invested your Majesty with a sufficient power, not, undoubtedly, to change our institutions, but to consolidate them, and render them more stable.

Circumstances of imperious necessity do not permit the exercise of this supreme power to be any longer deferred. The moment is come to have recourse to *measures* which are in the spirit of the Charter, but which are *beyond the limits of legal order*, or the resources of which had been exhausted in vain.

These resources, Sire, your Ministers, who are to secure the success of them, do not hesitate to propose to you, convinced as they are that justice will remain the strongest.

We are, with the most profound respect, Sire, your Majesty's most humble and most faithful subjects,

(Signed)

PRINCE POLIGNAC, MONTBEL,  
BARON D'HAUSSEZ, CHATELAUZE,  
CT. DE GUERNON, CT. DE PEYRONNET,  
BANVILLE, BARON CAPELLE.

Indignation would be thrown away upon this tissue of impudent falsehoods and tyrannical sentiments, which amount to no more than this: "We cannot get back to the old state of luxury and insolence, while a starving people toil for us; we cannot, as the Aristocracy do in England, get 650,000*l.* a year out of the taxes, amongst 113 of us; we are prevented from doing this by an honest press and by our present mode of choosing Deputies; and, therefore we call upon you to set the law at defiance, and to destroy the honest press and the present mode of choosing Deputies." Surely "Prince" Polignac was long enough in England to know how to do the thing better than this! Our great men do not go to work in this open brazen manner; they bring a *green bag*, say they have some papers in it, showing that horrible plots are on foot, and that they wish to submit them to a *secret committee*; and if called on to say *whom they have got the papers from*, they answer, "O, fie! What! expose dutiful subjects to the vengeance of the *disaffected*!" Having got the "*Secret Committee*," which *they themselves select*, they make their "*report*" to our Houses, or Chambers; and then they go to work, and, on the *report alone*, pass laws to suit the exigency; and nobody is ever told what are the contents of the green-bags, or from whom those contents came! A great part of the people believe, that there is *something* very horrible in the *bags*; but nobody ever knows *what*!

Why then did not Prince Polignac, who had so often seen this passing in England, follow the example of Sidmouth and Castlereagh? Why, the poor Prince would have done it, to be sure; his heart was good, I dare say; but poor man, he had not the implements to work with. A carpenter may know how to make a gate, but take from him his saw, hammer, chisel, and nails, and he cannot make a gate any more than a tailor can. If, indeed, the Prince had had a Chamber of Deputies *à l'Angloise*, he might have had a green-bag *à l'Angloise*; if his members had been sent after the manner of Reigate, Bletchingly, Hazlemere, and indeed any other place,

in his more than half-native land, he need not have been compelled to present himself, with only eight or ten others, to be pelted out of France. As far as relates to the *language* and the *sentiments* of the report, the Prince is, as I am now about to show, a wonderfully apt imitator of Sidmouth and Castlereagh; and if he had had a Gatton or Old-Sarum assembly to deal with, he would, I dare say, not have omitted the green-bags; and most likely, if he had succeeded in making the election districts in France a sort of rotten boroughs, he would, *next time*, have had as elegant a brace of green-bags as ever was borne by a Secretary of State.

And now, may it please your Majesty, I come to matter on which every English mind ought to dwell. These acts of the Bourbon are called *tyrannical*; he is called a *tyrant*; he has been *driven from the throne* for having approved of these acts. The acts and the actor have been, and are, thus characterized in England as well as in France; and I have seen no public print, and have heard of no person, pretending to deny that the accusation is *just*. Well, then, let us now look back at what *took place in England in the year 1817*; and, if I fairly describe it, both France and England will be able to judge of the *difference* between the proceedings in France and the proceedings in England; of the *difference* between the *ordinances* of Charles X., and the *Acts* of the Parliament of England. If any one ask *why* make such *comparison*, since those Acts of Parliament are now no more? Why, then, talk of Charles's ordinances? Those Acts are *precedents*; his ordinances never will. The Acts were *executed*, the ordinances were *resisted*. Besides, I make no comparison; I only relate the facts; the world will make the comparison, and to afford the means of making it is a duty, which gratitude to the brave French people calls upon me to perform.

In the year 1793, Mr. Grey (now Earl Grey) presented to the House of Commons, of which he was then a member, a petition, complaining, that *one hundred and fifty-four men* (peers and great commoners) put, by their own will and power, a *decided majority into the*

*House of Commons*, and that therefore the *people* were, in fact, not *represented at all*, and this he offered to prove at the bar, but the house would not let him do it;—that, in 1809, Mr. MADDOCKS (a member) charged two of the ministers with having *sold a seat* in the house to Mr. QUINTIN DICK, on *condition that he should vote with them*, and that, he having, upon one occasion, voted against them, they called on him to *quit the seat*, which he did; that Mr. MADDOCKS made a motion to bring witness to the bar to prove this charge, and that the House voted that they **WOULD NOT HEAR THE WITNESSES**, there being only *eighty-five votes* for the hearing, and *three hundred and ten* against it, and that the main argument against the motion was, that the "*practice was as notorious as the sun at noon day*;" that it was, indeed, perfectly notorious that seats were bought and sold; that the *people*, generally speaking, had no voice at all in the elections, that, in many places, there was never any voting at all, and that the whole thing was in the hands of the one hundred and fifty-four men, mentioned in the petition presented by Mr. Grey; that, in 1817, the people of England and Scotland, seeing that the *Americans* had a free system of election, and seeing that the *French* also had a mode of election which gave the people *real representatives*, began to bestir themselves in order to obtain a real representation for themselves; that, with this view, the people met, in divers parts of England and Scotland, and agreed to present petitions to the House of Commons, praying for such a reform as might give them a real representation; that about a million and a half of men signed these petitions, and that none of these petitioners, in any part of the kingdom, were guilty of any riot, or breach of peace; that, as soon as these petitions were presented, *green bags* were (by Sidmouth and Castlereagh) brought into the two Houses of Parliament, "*secret committees*" were appointed to examine the contents of the bags, and, in both Houses, *REPORTS* were made, suggesting measures against the freedom of *speech*, and of *the press*; that from

these reports, and from the speeches made in the two Houses, Prince Polignac seems to have taken the matter of *his report*, for, that these reports and speeches complained of the effect produced on the minds of the people by the press, complained that it had changed their character, made them discontented, irreligious, restless, and disobedient; that it misled them, perverted their reason and judgment, that it relaxed all the bonds of society, and, in short, produced the greater part of the evils which Polignac ascribes to the press of France; that, as the prince says, that the *laws* of France "*cannot reach the offenders*, and "*that the public prosecutor is wearied out*," so SIDMOUTH said, that the "*law officers* could find no means of checking the publications by *law*," and that, as the latter wanted power to *supply the place of law*, so Polignac calls for "*measures beyond the limits of the law*;" that, as to the measures, in the two cases, *vast indeed is the difference*; that, in France, the ordinances *put an end to* the liberty of the press openly and frankly, leaving the printers and publishers, *persons under the guardianship of the law, as before*; but that, in England, the parliament (constituted as we have seen) passed an Act, by which the ministers were empowered to seize *any man* that they *might choose to say* that they suspected of treasonable practices; to shut him up in jail, or dungeon, on their own warrant and authority, not only without commitment stating his offence, but without telling him what his offence was, or who was his accuser; further, to send him to any jail, however distant from his home; to remove him at their pleasure from one jail to another, and from one dungeon to another; to prevent him from seeing friends, wife, children, parents, and all persons whatsoever; to prevent him from having the use of pen, ink and paper; to keep him in such jail, or dungeon, as long as they pleased; and to prevent even the sheriff or magistrates of the county from seeing him; that, in virtue of this act, great numbers of the petitioners, some of them *printers, writers, or venders of publications*, were seized, dragged from their

homes and families, crammed into jails, or dungeons, at hundreds of miles from those homes, and treated with all the rigour exercised towards the greatest of criminals; that some of these innocent men lost their health, others their lives, and that all were reduced to beggary; that several of them, when set at liberty, found that their wives had died while they were in the dungeons; that others found that their children, or some of them, had died; that not one man imprisoned under this act WAS EVER BROUGHT TO TRIAL; amongst these victims was a printer of Manchester, named WILLIAM OGDEN, aged seventy-four years, and the father of seventeen children, who, upon getting out of the dungeon, in 1818, told, in a petition to the House of Commons, his sad tale, in the following words:—

“On Sunday, the 9th March, 1817, “I was arrested, early in the morning, “by warrant from Lord Sidmouth, “charging me to be suspected of high “treason, which was in every respect “false, as the event has proved. I was “immediately conveyed to prison in “Manchester, and placed in confinement “among felons, till Tuesday, after three “o’clock in the afternoon; nor had I “*any allowance either in meat or drink “for the whole time save a threepenny “pie, ordered, at my request, by COL. “SYLVESTER, a magistrate, which I “eagerly ate, just before I set off for “London. I was ironed before the said “magistrate, with a manacle not less “than 30lbs. weight, and treated in the “most taunting manner. On my ap- “plying to be confronted with my accu- “ser, I was treated with insult, and “posted off to London, as before men- “tioned, and lodged in Horsemonger- “lane jail. The very ponderous irons I “was loaded with, broke my belly, and “caused an hernia to ensue, about eight “o’clock in the evening, when going to “bed; and as it was impossible for me to “alarm the jailer, I remained in that “dreadful state for more than fifteen “hours in the most excruciating pain and “torture. On the turnkey appearing next “morning, two surgeons were sent for “by Mr. WALTERS, the governor, who, “after using such means as seemed “proper, found nothing would do but*

“the knife, and *they apprehended, from “my age (74) that I should die under “the operation.* The pain was so great “that I could endure it no longer, and “therefore, at all hazards, I insisted on “the operation being resorted to, which “continued *for one hour and forty mi- “nutes.* Praised be God and the skill “of my surgeons, I survived it, con- “trary, however, to the surgeons’ ex- “pectation, and much weakened in my “constitution. Mr. DIXON, the surgeon, “and his partner, performed the opera- “tion in the infirmary of the prison. “The wound in my groin was above “seven inches in length, and Mr. DIXON “*had my entrails out of my belly in “his fingers like a link of sausages;* a “circumstance on which, I learn, a “*Right Honorable Gentleman* was af- “terwards so jocular and entertaining “in the House of Commons. Mr. “WALTERS, the governor, was present “during the operation, and he, as “well as the surgeons, can attest the “truth of my statement. Thus have I, “at the AGE OF SEVENTY-FOUR, been “torn from my family, crushed almost “to death with irons, suffered near nine “months’ solitary confinement, and ruin- “ed in my employ, as a printer; and I “declare before God, who is omnipo- “tent, omniscient and omnipresent, that “I had done no wrong. I may add, “that I am the father of seventeen chil- “dren, whom I have supported and “educated, at my own expense, *by my “own labour;* and I may truly say, that “I have always been a bringer to the “general stock, and not like he who “made a jest of my sufferings, been a “taker from it during his whole life.”

That, when this petition was before the House of Commons, CANNING made the jest to which OGDEN alludes, and as the reporters stated, the members of that House *cheered* the jest amidst a *roar of laughter*; that neither Ogden nor any other of the sufferers ever obtained any redress or compensation; and that in 1818, an Act of this same Parliament was passed to protect, to bear harmless, to screen from all legal proceedings and all punishment whatsoever, all persons in authority, who might have overstepped the bounds of even this terrible Act; and lastly, that these two

Acts are now on the statute book, to be *precedents* for any future occasion.

Here are the *facts*; there are the ordinances of him whom the *English* as well as the French call a tyrant; here is a fair description of these Acts of Parliament. Let the world make the *comparison*. And now, having endeavoured to state clearly the nature and character of the events in France, I shall proceed to consider what will be their probable effect ON US, by which I mean our government and political state. For nobody can be weak enough to imagine, that we shall not be greatly affected, in some way or other, by this *great change* in France. I do not proceed upon the supposition that the *Republic*, by name, will be restored; but I am quite sure that it will be in *substance*. The *tri-coloured flag* is enough for me: if that flag keep up, *reform in England is inevitable*: if that flag, that outward and visible sign of perpetual hostility to aristocratical injustice, keep up, reform must come to England, from some beginning or other; and the wise way would be to make it *now*, when it can be done without a struggle.

The example of America is powerful, but we only *hear* of that: the other we shall *see*: it is a mighty, a populous, a rich, a learned nation, admired for its valiant achievements, and now more admired than ever, this last act being the most noble exploit ever performed by a people. A people unarmed, *disarmed*, in fact, a people reposing in the lap of peace, beset on every side and divided in the midst by an organized government and a powerful army and watched by spies and *gens-d'armes* at every turn, rising all at once, baring their breasts to the sabres and the bullets and the cannon balls, upon the first violation of their rights! Taking their old Republican motto, "*Vivre libre, ou mourir!*" "Live free, or die!" and acting to the very letter, up to that motto! Such a spectacle must have and will have a great effect on all the nations in the world.

It should be remembered by every body, and particularly by your Majesty, that the war against the French Republic was a war *sought by us*, that is, by our government; and that the object of

it was "*to prevent the contagion of French principles.*" Now, what were those principles? that there ought to be *no over-bearing Aristocracy, no tithes, or established church*, that all men should be *equal in the eye of the law*, that *no law ought to be passed without the assent of the people at large through representatives freely chosen by them*. These were the "*French principles*," and without asking *how many* men there are in England who reject these principles *now*, I may venture to assert, that we shall not go to war *again* "to prevent the contagion" of these, or of any other French principles. Yet, it must be evident to every one, that we cannot remain as we are, if the *tri-coloured flag* continue to wave in the air.

One great and constant argument against *reform* has been, ever since the restoration of the Bourbons, that all such efforts were vain; for that, after all that the French had done, after all their surprising sacrifices and feats of valour, they were obliged, even for their own peace and safety, to return to *their former state*. This was not true; for they had got rid of tithes, *corvées*, *gabelles*, seigneurial courts, game-laws, accursed local parliaments, and a thousand other degrading and tantalizing curses, to get rid of either of which was worth an age of war. But, they had the *Bourbons back*; they had the *white flag* back; they bore the outward signs of re-subjection; and, on this circumstance the enemies of our rights and liberties founded an argument, not to be answered by every one in a moment. But, NOW, what have these enemies to say? Here is the tri-coloured flag again, and that, too, in company with sober freedom, elegant manners, the arts in perfection, manufactures, commerce, and agriculture, all flourishing. And, to suppose, that a people capable of what the world has witnessed within the last twelve days are unfit to form and live under a wise and strong government; to suppose, that they are *unfit* to estimate and enjoy freedom united with order and law, is the most unreasonable, nay, the most impudent, thought that ever came into the mind of man. The QUARTERLY REVIEW says, that "the French are by no means adapted to a

"government like ours;" which is perfectly true! This government, such as it now is, is *fit for nobody but Irish, Scotch, and English!* Nobody else is *worthy* of it; and this they feel, I suppose; for the people have, in every part of the world, rejected the offer of it, and even looked upon such offer as an affront.

From the nature of things, a more intimate connexion will now grow up between the *people* of England and those of France. The *people* have been kept asunder for *thirty-seven years*. For twenty-two by war, and for the rest of the time by the sort and character of the French government. The English that have gone to France have been, for the most part, *tax-eaters* of one sort or another; all on the side of the Bourbons; all full of insolence; all wishing the *people* to be kept down, all *hated* by the people, and *hating* them in return. Men that could have assisted in uniting the people of the two countries have kept at home. This will not be the case *now*; men of intelligence will go to France, and the two countries will *know one another well*; a thing to be prevented solely by *war*, and to think, even to *think*, of that, no man in England is mad enough. The intercourse will, therefore, be free, and the effects of it will be felt in various ways, and particularly as a cause of increasing the necessity of parliamentary reform.

This revolution in France has not, like ours in 1688, been made by a parcel of *aristocrats*, who hold lands once belonging to the Church and poor, and who are seeking fresh grants. It has been made by the *people* themselves; and that, too, for the express and sole purpose of preventing their rulers from robbing them of *their right to be represented in their legislative assembly*. It is a revolution made to *prevent borough-mongering*. It is a revolution made to prevent Gations and Old Sarums and Petersfields and Reigates from rising up in France. There was one country free before; now there are two; one far off, the other near; one for men to work and keep their gains in, the other for men to live in on what they have gained, without being compelled to yield up two-thirds of it in taxes, to be given to those who ride over them.

The mild and coaxing language of the *Courier* newspaper is quite enough to convince any body, that your Majesty's ministers are in great *embarrassment*; that they are *astounded*; that this a stroke wholly *unexpected*; that they see the danger of the thrust, and do not know how to parry it. The arrival of the ambassador of the *new* government *à la tricolor* will put them to the test. Oh! how will they get down this bolus! That will be the day of jubilee for the Radical Reformers! What! receive the *tricolor* after all the rejoicing under the *white flag*! After the *trampling* upon it, and after *pulling it down* on the *Serpentine River*! and after publishing a fine quarto book to perpetuate the exploit! To live to see this day is well worth a whole life of suffering up to this day.

When I before addressed your Majesty, I mentioned the *appearances* in France, but did not imagine that the upshot was so very near at hand. I assured your Majesty, that from one end to the other of England, all who do not live upon the taxes, were anxious for the success of the French people; and I can *now* assure you that never was joy so great and so general as that which that success has excited: it descends to the very labourers; and all understand that the French have been fighting for the right of *choosing their representatives*, thereby to save themselves from being loaded and broken down with taxes. Here is a king driven away, and a great army unable to protect him, only because he wanted to *prevent the people from freely choosing their representatives*.

What a *lesson*! I do most anxiously hope that it will not be thrown away; that it will be seriously thought of; that it will produce the proper effect on others, as I am sure it will on your Majesty, to whom I before took the liberty to recommend the calling of the Parliament together for the express and sole purpose of making a *real reform in itself*, which I now still more earnestly recommend, being convinced that that is the only means of preventing troubles and calamities, to prevent which has always been my most anxious desire. I beseech your Majesty, who has lauda-

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bly issued a proclamation for the suppression of *Vice*, to cast your eyes at this moment, on the scenes which are exhibited in France, and those exhibited in England. In the latter, bribery, corruption, lying, perjury, fraud, drunkenness, every-thing that is false, sordid, beastly, and infamous, disfigures society, and disgraces the land, and this, too, under pretence of an *exercise of the rights of election*; those rights (where at all possessed) being objects of sale or of barter as notoriously and undisguisedly as goods in a shop, or being exercised at the command of masters as much as are the labours of the ox or the ass. Look, I beseech your Majesty, at the bawling, guzzling, gormandizing groups of Englishmen, literally selling their birth-right and that of the rest of the community for messes of drink and of food; look, I humbly implore your Majesty, at these your degraded subjects, and then look at the gallant people of France, pouring out their blood like water, rather than give up a particle of those same rights, which are, as before described, sold or bartered in England for sordid gain, and in many cases, for the mere gratification of beastly appetite. And, if your Majesty seriously contemplate this contrast, so honourable to France and so disgraceful to England, I trust that we may hope for your gracious interference, in order to wipe from our country such deep and signal infamy; and in this hope, I remain

Your Majesty's dutiful subject,

WM. COBBETT.

### DINNER

#### BY THE REFORMERS OF ENGLAND

IN HONOUR OF

#### THE PEOPLE OF FRANCE.

On Monday, the 16th of this month of August, there will be a DINNER, as under-mentioned, Mr. COBBETT IN THE CHAIR; at which dinner it is intended to take into consideration, and to agree to, an ADDRESS FROM THE RADICAL REFORMERS OF ENGLAND TO THE BRAVE PEOPLE OF FRANCE, congratulating them on their glorious triumph over the execrable principle of boroughmonger-

ing, and tendering to them our warmest thanks for having thus, by their virtue and valour, asserted the undoubted right of a people freely to choose those who are empowered to impose taxes upon them, without the full enjoyment of which right there can be nothing worthy of the names of liberty or of property. The dinner is to be at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate Street; the price of the dinner will be 10s. 6d. for each person, including one bottle of wine; the *hour* of dining *five o'clock* precisely. Tickets to be had at the *Bar of the Tavern*, and at the Register Office, No. 163, Fleet Street. Gentlemen in the country, who intend to be at the dinner, may secure tickets by writing to friends in town.

### SUBSCRIPTION

FOR the relief of the brave Frenchmen who have recently been wounded in fighting for freedom of election and of the press, and for the widows and children of such of them as have been killed by their late tyrant's soldiers.

I have set on foot this subscription from a sense not of mere humanity, but of duty and particularly of *gratitude*, being firmly convinced, that the brave people of Paris have shed their blood, not for their own rights alone, but for *ours* also, it being manifest to me that they have, in one single day, done more for the *cause of reform*, than has ever been done before. I have the names of *twenty reformers*, who, amongst them, engage to pay towards the fund, upwards of a hundred pounds. At the dinner, on the 16th instant, the *names of the gentlemen composing a committee to manage the fund*, will be announced. In the meanwhile, I beg all friends in the country, or in London, to make collections in their several circles, and to keep the money till the names of the committee be announced. This committee will receive the money, transmit it to Paris, and give an account of the receipt and disposal of it at Paris. How often have we been called upon to subscribe to reward those *who fought against freedom!* Shall we not, then, do all we can to show our sympathy with those who have gallantly and

voluntarily bled in *fighting for freedom*! Let every *sincere reformer* remember, that the men and women of Paris have now bled for him and his children.

WM. COBBETT.

TO

MR. ATWOOD OF BIRMINGHAM,

*And the other sham-reformers of that Town.*

THE moment I heard of your having invited the *shoyhoy* Burdett to Birmingham, I *knew* you to be a *sham* yourself. Since his exhibition *there*, he has made another *here*, the account of which I take from the Courier newspaper of the 31st July, and I subjoin it for the amusement of the *sound* men, the *real* reformers of Birmingham, who will now see what sort of a fellow you wished to give them as a *leader*. What, send a hundred miles to get the *countenance* of a *leader* who is compelled to run into a *church* to get beyond the reach of the rotten cabbages and old turnip-tops *thrown at him by his constituents*; and that, too, when *not opposed by any-body*! It was the spontaneous act of the people, who felt insulted that the fellow had the impudence to present himself before them. "*Hume kept at the back of the crowd*;" and you will find, in the end, that *you* must keep at the "back of the crowd too." Your real views are *now* manifest; you are just such another *sham* as Burdett himself. Westminster has told the nation what *he* is, and Birmingham will soon tell it what *you* are. I am only sorry that you were not here to have your share of the *cabbages* and *turnips*.

WM. COBBETT.

"The election for Westminster commenced this morning at twelve o'clock, and concluded by twenty minutes before one. Instead of having hustings, and places for clerks, there was only a small platform in front of the church. Every-thing was very quiet; no sign of opposition, and no attendance at the commencement worthy of being called a crowd. The

"candidates and their friends collected at the Grand Hotel, and thence came in procession to the platform. The only entertainment created, previously to the arrival of the larger professors, was by the exhibition of a grand placard, saying, 'Vote for Dr. —, the *real Reformer of the Constitution*;' then mentioning this 'Reformer's' address. It created much laughter.

"The crowds then rapidly increased, large bodies coming in different directions, pressing to the front of the hustings most boisterously.

"Sir F. Burdett, and Mr. Hobhouse, attended by the High Bailiff, (Arthur Morris, Esq.) on ascending the platform, were received with mingled applause and hisses; and after they had subsided, there were several calls of, '*Off, off*.' Colonel Jones and Mr. Hume were with Sir F. Burdett; *but Mr. Hume kept at the back of the crowd*.

"The writ, &c. were then read, during which time there was an immense deal of discordant and unfriendly uproar. The *hooting* was chiefly directed against the candidates, there being frequent calls of '*No Select Vestries*;' '*No sham Reformers*;' after which the scene was varied, till the speaking commenced, by the tossing about of sundry cabbages removed from a cart close at hand, by various 'free and independent electors of Westminster.'

"Mr. LYNDON then proposed Sir F. Burdett, but *amidst so much uproar and yelling, that not one word of what he uttered was heard*.

"Mr. PURSE seconded the nomination of Sir F. Burdett, amidst a like compliment.

"Mr. DE VEAR proposed Mr. Hobhouse, but he was wholly inaudible in consequence of the *tremendous uproar*.

"Sir F. BURDETT then attempted to address the Meeting, but such was the tremendous uproar, that though our reporter was within four or five yards of Sir F. Burdett, not one word from him could be collected. The scene became still more riotous as Sir F. Burdett proceeded, and ill-naturedly so. It was the most noisy ever wit-

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"nessed even at Covent-garden. Then  
 "confusion was rendered "worse con-  
 "founded" by the breaking down of a  
 "temporary hustings in front of the  
 "platform for spectators. Hundreds  
 "were hurled down, and literally  
 "tumbled one over the other; and then  
 "there were most violent and danger-  
 "ous scrambles to regain their legs and  
 "their hats. This scene was loudly  
 "huzzaed! Sir F. Burdett continued  
 "his speech, but the *greater were his*  
 "*personal exertions to be heard, the*  
 "*louder were all sorts of noisy inter-*  
 "*ruptions.* Cries of 'You're good for  
 "nothing; let us have Hume.' 'You  
 "have got two faces, though only one  
 "hat,' &c. *Several cabbages, lumps of*  
 "*green tops, and smashed potatoes,*  
 "were at this time thrown, not only  
 "amongst the crowd, but at the persons  
 "*on the hustings.* They fell thickly  
 "around 'Westminster's Pride!' A  
 "few sentences at last were occasion-  
 "ally heard, in which he eulogised the  
 "efforts made to return his learned  
 "friend Mr. Brougham for Yorkshire,  
 "applauded his Majesty, declaring him  
 "to be the most popular Monarch that  
 "ever sat on the English throne, and  
 "rejoiced in the efforts made by France  
 "to maintain her Constitution. These  
 "sentences, however, were heard very  
 "disjointedly, and, eventually, the noise  
 "again became still louder, amidst  
 "which Sir F. Burdett bowed and re-  
 "tired, and he was then *most vocifer-*  
 "*ously and jeeringly huzzaed.*

"Mr. HOBHOUSE next essayed to be  
 "heard, but many exclaimed, 'What  
 "we refused to the Master, must be  
 "denied to the man.' Though his  
 "voice is much shriller than that of Sir  
 "Francis Burdett, words now and then,  
 "and at times half a sentence, only  
 "could be heard, and that by the most  
 "violent efforts on the part of the  
 "speaker. He appeared to dwell  
 "strongly on the glorious efforts made  
 "by the electors of Westminster to res-  
 "cue themselves from Court thralldom,  
 "on the pleasure he felt at having been  
 "so honourably returned, and he de-  
 "clared, that if again returned, he  
 "would again endeavour to do his duty.  
 "But these sentiments were far from  
 "being distinctly heard, *even at a dis-*

"tance of a yard or two from the ora-  
 "tor. His address was very short, and  
 "he bowed and retired, as he had pro-  
 "ceeded, amidst the most deafening  
 "and *appalling yells, variegated with*  
 "occasional, but somewhat more *un-*  
 "*ceremonious showers of the afore-*  
 "*mentioned different vegetables.*

"Colonel JONES next appeared to be  
 "desirous of addressing the meeting, but  
 "The HIGH BAILIFF proceeded, *pro*  
 "*formâ*, as no third candidate was even  
 "hinted at, to put the question whether  
 "they would have Sir F. Burdett and  
 "Mr. Hobhouse to represent them in  
 "Parliament? The proposition called  
 "forth the *most boisterous uproar.* He,  
 "however, afterwards *declared them to*  
 "*have been duly elected.*

"The party on the hustings then  
 "quickly turned round *to retreat with*  
 "*all convenient speed from the plat-*  
 "*form;* and there was then a most tre-  
 "mendous rush to get to the steps lead-  
 "ing from the platform. The electors  
 "of Westminster, however, then and  
 "there assembled, were too prompt for  
 "them. The moment the backs of the  
 "Members and their friends were  
 "turned, to *walk off the hustings, they*  
 "*were greeted with an immense volley*  
 "*of cabbages, bunches of turnip-tops,*  
 "&c.; and the volleys were often re-  
 "peated long before the heroes of the  
 "scene and the obnoxious parties could  
 "get off the hustings and under the  
 "porch. They fell thickly on the heads  
 "and shoulders of the platform com-  
 "pany. Every third man seemed to  
 "have provided himself with some ve-  
 "getable; several cart-loads must have  
 "been destroyed; but in order that  
 "none of the ammunition might be lost,  
 "several of the populace, by a *coup*  
 "*d'assaut*, took possession of the plat-  
 "form and hurled back the missiles.  
 "The crowd were most grateful for this,  
 "and made active use of the restored  
 "provision. *Showers of cabbages at-*  
 "*tended the company even under the*  
 "*portico,* and as the Members, &c.,  
 "*entered the Church, the party retreat-*  
 "*ing that way, instead of going out as*  
 "they came at the side of the platform.

"Colonel JONES, however, remained  
 "in front of the hustings, and he be-  
 "came the mark for all to fire the cab-

" bages at ; and he bravely withstood  
 " the pelting of these pitiless storms for  
 " some time, but eventually he was  
 " obliged to retire, and was followed as  
 " long as he remained within sight by  
 " the greens."

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ON the 1st of September I shall publish No. I. of *The History of the Life and Reign of GEORGE IV.* When that is done, I shall go back to the earliest times, and publish, in similar Numbers, on the 1st of every month, a COMPLETE HISTORY OF ENGLAND. A true one ; not a romance. The History of GEORGE IV. will be the end, of course, unless I should outlive another King. I begin with this last reign, because we want it, and particularly the history of our poor, unfortunate, and excellent friend, QUEEN CAROLINE, who, by her known hatred of corruption, gave the borough-villains a better blow than they had had for many, many years. They have, in fact, never been "their own men" since. These incomparable villains (for what is equal to their villany) shall have their due, their full due, in my history, which shall show *how they got* their possessions ; and enable the nation to judge of the right that they have to keep them. Our histories are romances, written by pensioned and bribed slaves. It is high time that the people knew the truth ; high time that they saw the degradation into which they have fallen, and the causes of it. This task was reserved for me ; and, God giving me life and health, I will perform it. The Numbers will come out *monthly*, price 8d., as low as I can sell it, with any thing like compensation to myself ; and I do this, because I wish people in even low circumstances to read it.

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